

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 07263 01 OF 03 241057Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-12 TRSE-00
CU-04 DHA-05 OES-07 EB-08 VO-03 /097 W
-----116087 241125Z /14

O R 241000Z OCT 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3042
INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 7263

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV

USCINCEUR FOR POLAD

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE--WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, OCTOBER 15-21

REF: BELGRADE 7038

SUMMARY: THIRD WEEK OF BELGRADE MEETING PRODUCED SOME SPECIFICS IN IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW AND SOME CONFRONTATION. TOWARD THE END OF THE WEEK SOVIETS ADOPTED PLOY OF MODERATING THEIR COUNTER-ATTACKS SLIGHTLY WHILE PLEADING WITH DELEGATES TO KEEP CONCRETE CASES OUT OF CONFERENCE AND INTO BILATERAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. THE ALTERNATIVE, THEY AND THEIR ALLIES SUGGEST MIGHT BE A DEADLOCKED CONFERENCE THAT IN FEBRUARY WOULD AGREE TO NOTHING MORE THAN THANKING YUGOSLAVIA FOR ITS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 07263 01 OF 03 241057Z

HOSPITALITY. US, WELL SUPPORTED BY FRG IN PARTICULAR, HAS ASSUMED POINT POSITION FOR THE WEST, OUT IN FRONG IN BOTH BASKETS ONE AND THREE AND TAKING THE BULK OF THE EASTERN CRITICISM. NATO CAUCUS IS FUNCTIONING WELL AS IT CONSIDERS BASIC TACTICAL QUESTIONS OF HOW FAR SOVIET LEVEL OF TOLERANCE CAN PRODUCTIVELY BE PUSHED. END SUMMARY.

1. PLENARY--WITH SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES UNDERWAY, PLENARY HAS, AS EXPECTED, BEGUN TO LOSE ITS PREDOMINANT ROLE. ONE SESSION WAS DEVOTED TO WRAPPING UP BASKET THREE DEBATE EXTENDED FROM PREVIOUS WEEK, AND TWO SESSIONS WERE TURNED OVER TO NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES. FINAL PLENARY OF WEEK, OCTOBER 21, WAS USED BY EAST, THROUGH MEDIUM OF POLISH AMBASSADOR, TO MAKE PLEA THAT PLENARY ENCOURAGE WORKING BODIES TO ESCHEW "POISONOUS REMARKS" OF PREVIOUS FEW DAYS AND CONCENTRATE ON AREAS OF POSITIVE COOPERATION IF BELGRADE MEETING WAS TO HAVE CHANCE OF SUCCESS. THIS SPEECH FORESHADOWED TACTICS CARRIED OUT BY SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES IN SUBSEQUENT BASKET ONE MEETING. WE WOULD EXPECT TO SEE PLENARY USED INCREASINGLY IN THIS FASHION, THAT IS, AN OCCASIONAL SPEECH INTENDED TO POINT OUT TO SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES THE LINE THEY SHOULD TAKE, BUT FOR TIME BEING AT LEAST DOING LITTLE CONCRETE WORK.

2. BASKET ONE, PRINCIPLES--WORKING BODY BEGAN WITH INFORMAL AGREEMENT THAT IT WOULD FOR PRESENT ALTERNATE ON WEEKLY BASIS BETWEEN PRINCIPLES AND CBMS. FIRST FEW DAYS OF REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION WAS QUIET, ALMOST ACADEMIC, WITH ONLY OCCASIONAL FLASHES OF WELL-CONTROLLED EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES ON FAMILIAR ISSUE OF RELATIONSHIP OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS PRINCIPLE TO PEACEFUL CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 07263 01 OF 03 241057Z

CHANGE. FRG BROUGHT GERMAN ISSUES DIRECTLY INTO CSCE FOR FIRST TIME BY ATTACKING GDR CONTENTIONS EXPLICITLY. DEBATE LIVENED CONSIDERABLY, HOWEVER, WHEN AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG, SUBSEQUENTLY SUPPORTED BY OTHER ALLIED AND NEUTRAL SPEAKERS, DELIVERED STRONG STATEMENT ASSERTING RIGHT TO RAISE SPECIFIC CASES UNDER HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE WITHOUT RESTRAINT FROM NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS PRINCIPLE. ALTHOUGH SOVIETS HAVE ALREADY DELIVERED STATEMENTS ON ALL PRINCIPLES AND A FEW DELEGATIONS ON OCTOBER 21 WERE STILL TALKING ABOUT EARLY PRINCIPLES, IT IS EXPECTED THAT DEBATE WILL FOCUS ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHEN WORKING BODY RETURNS TO PRINCIPLES WEEK OF OCTOBER 31. THERE IS AS YET NO INDICATION THAT SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN REAL DIALOGUE.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 07263 02 OF 03 241108Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
ACDA-12 TRSE-00 CU-04 DHA-05 OES-07 EB-08 VO-03
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /097 W
-----116144 241126Z /14

O R 241000Z OCT 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3043
INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BELGRADE 7263

3. BASKET ONE, CBMS -- WORK WENT ON IN CAUCUS ROOMS AND CORRIDORS AS CBM EXPERTS PREPARED FOR THEIR FIRST FORMAL SESSION OCTOBER 24. MANY DELEGATIONS, REFLECTING FACT THAT IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW IS RELATIVELY STRAIGHT-FORWARD IN THIS SUBJECT AS WELL AS A CONCERN THAT CBM WORK MAY BE PRESSED FOR TIME BECAUSE OF LINK TO PRINCIPLES, ARE EAGER TO GET NEW PROPOSALS ON TABLE EARLY. NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED EXPECT TO TABLE THEIR PROPOSALS AT BEGINNING OF COMING WEEK, AND NATO CAUCUS HAS AGREED PROVISIONALLY THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR WESTERN PAPER TO BE OUT BY END OF WEEK PROVIDED THIS WOULD NOT PREJUDICE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OR OTHERWISE CONFLICT WITH WESTERN NEW PROPOSALS' STRATEGY. SOVIETS HAVE BEEN QUIET, BUT THEIR DEPUTY HEAD OF DELEGATION HINTED IN DISCUSSION WITH CANADIAN AND NORWEGIAN REPS THAT SOVIETS "MIGHT HAVE A FEW IDEAS" ON EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AND VOLUNTARY NOTIFICATION OF SMALL MANEUVERS.

4. BASKET TWO -- THERE IS INFORMAL UNDERSTANDING THAT EIGHT WEEKS WILL BE DIVIDED EQUALLY BETWEEN REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF NEW PROPOSALS. DURING
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 07263 02 OF 03 241108Z

THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS, TWELVE MEETINGS WILL BE ON TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION: FOUR ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT; AND FOUR ON REMAINING SUBSECTIONS. DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE IN SPIRIT, PUNCTUATED BY A FEW SHARP EXCHANGES ON OBSTACLES TO TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES. WESTERN PRESENTATIONS WERE DOMINATED BY BELGIUM, REPRESENTING EC, WHICH HAS SUGGESTED THAT TRADE

OBSTACLES ARE INHERENT IN NON-MARKET SYSTEM. THIS PROVED SENSITIVE ISSUE FOR EAST ALTHOUGH MOST EASTERN EUROPEANS HAVE ADMITTED GRUDGINGLY THAT BOTH MARKET AND NON-MARKET SYSTEMS CONTAIN TRADE OBSTACLES. THERE SEEMS TO BE CONSENSUS THAT ALL STATES MUST STRIVE HARDER TO REDUCE OR ELIMINATE SUCH OBSTACLES ON BASIS OF MUTUAL INTEREST. PRESENTATIONS ON BUSINESS CONTACTS AND FACILITIES HAVE REFLECTED A UNIFORM PATTERN OF PROBLEMS FACED BY WESTERN FIRMS TRADING WITH EAST. EASTERN RESPONSES HAVE BEEN MOSTLY DEFENSIVE, NOTING WHAT HAS BEEN DONE BUT TACITLY ADMITTING PROBLEMS REMAIN.

5. MEDITERRANEAN -- NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES USED TWO PLENARY SESSIONS TO MAKE INITIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEETING, AND THEY DEMONSTRATED WHY MOST DELEGATIONS WISH TO KEEP THEM NON-PARTICIPATING. ALL SIX ARAB SPEAKERS (EGYPT, LEBANON, SYRIA, ALGERIA, MOROCCO, TUNISIA) BROUGHT IN MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM WITH ATTACKS ON ISRAELIS WHO RESPONDED WITH RESTATEMENT OF THEIR FAMILIAR POSITION. ARABS SPEAKERS CALLED FOR BELGRADE MEETING TO INCLUDE SPECIFIC COMMENT ON MIDDLE EAST SECURITY QUESTIONS IN ITS FINAL DOCUMENT. ISRAELI REP CRITICIZED SOVIETS EXPLICITLY FOR RESTRICTING JEWISH CULTURE AND EMIGRATION. PLO SENT LETTER TO SECRETARIAT REQUESTING CONFERENCE ROLE; US HAS ORGANIZED NATO CAUCUS TO ENSURE THAT CONSENSUS WILL BE WITHHELD FROM EFFORT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 07263 02 OF 03 241108Z

TO GIVE PLO ANY STATUS WHATSOEVER. OUTLOOK IS FOR ARAB-ISRAEL DISPUTE TO BE IN FOREFRONT AGAIN WHEN NON-PARTICIPATING STATES WILL HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE SECOND AND FINAL ROUND OF CONTRIBUTIONS IN WORKING BODY WEEK OF OCTOBER 24.

6. BASKET THREE -- DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON HUMAN CONTACTS. ALLIED AND NEUTRAL REPS PRESSED FOR CONCRETE DIALOGUE ON IMPROVING IMPLEMENTATION WHILE EASTERN REPS INSISTED ON LISTING "POSITIVE" DEVELOPMENTS. CHARTER 77 TRIAL AND RELATED EVENTS BECAME FOCUS OF SEVERAL HEATED EXCHANGES. LED BY US, FRANCE, FRG, AND UK, MANY WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS STRONGLY CRITICIZED CZECHS WHO, WITH SOVIET SUPPORT, COUNTERED WITH PROTESTS AGAINST INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. EASTERN SPEAKERS INVOKED NON-INTERFERENCE ARGUMENT REGULARLY AS WEST MADE CONCERTED EFFORT TO DRAW THEM INTO DIALOGUE BY DIRECTING QUESTIONS TO SPECIFIC VISA PRACTICES. EASTERN SPEAKERS ALSO CITED REAMS OF STATISTICS, URGED THAT DIFFICULT INDIVIDUAL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 07263 03 OF 03 241129Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
ACDA-12 TRSE-00 CU-04 DHA-05 OES-07 EB-08 VO-03
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /097 W
-----116201 241131Z /14

O R 241000Z OCT 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3044
INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BELGRADE 7263

CASES BE DEALT WITH ONLY BILATERALLY, NOT AT BELGRADE,
AND GAVE VEILED WARNINGS OF SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR
CONFERENCE IF WEST PERSISTED IN PRESENT TACTICS. AT
END OF WEEK, AUSTRIAN REP SUGGESTED THAT ATTENTION SHOULD
FOCUS ON DEFINING FINAL ACT PHRASES, E.G. IN TERMS OF
MAXIMUM VISA FEES AND ISSUANCE TIMES. SEVERAL WESTERN
REPS LAUDED THIS APPROACH, AND SOVIET REP MADE MODERATELY
FAVORABLE REFERENCE TO AUSTRIAN PROPOSAL OCTOBER 21.
AS DEBATE SHIFTS TO INFORMATION TOPICS WEEK OF OCTOBER
24, IT IS CLEAR THAT HUMAN CONTACTS WILL BE REOPENED BY
WEST AT A LATER DATE EITHER THROUGH CONTINUED QUESTIONS
OR NEW PROPOSALS.

7. COMMENT: WE ARE NOW INTO THE HEART OF THE MATTER:
HOW TO CONDUCT THE DETAILED COMMITTEE WORK SO AS TO
EXPAND SOVIET TOLERANCE FOR DISCUSSING REAL CONTROVERSIES
AND TO MAKE SOME PROGRESS ON THEM OR, FAILING THAT, HOW
TO STATE US INTERESTS IN SUCH A WAY THAT OUR IDEALS
ARE FAITHFULLY REFLECTED WITHOUT BEING SEEN BY OUR ALLIES
AS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEADLOCK OF A PROCESS THAT THEY
REGARD AS VERY IMPORTANT. SOVIET TACTICS ARE CLEVER.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 07263 03 OF 03 241129Z

THEY HAVE COMBINED BLUSTER AND THREATS WITH APPEALS TO
MODERATION AND COOPERATION. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG REMAINS

IN REGULAR PERSONAL CONTACT WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR
VORONTSOV, AND THERE HAS AS YET BEEN NO SIGNAL THAT
SOVIETS' ULTIMATE TOLERANCE LEVEL HAS BEEN REACHED.
AT SAME TIME, BY NOT MAINTAINING SAME HIGH LEVEL OF
COUNTER-ATTACK TO CRITICISMS OCTOBER 21 THAT THEY DISPLAYED
TO INITIAL EXPLICIT CRITICISMS EARLIER IN WEEK, THE SOVIETS
APPEAR TO BE TRYING TO CREATE IMPRESSION THAT THEY ARE NOT
TO BE BLAMED IF BELGRADE MEETING ULTIMATELY BECOMES TRULY
CONFRONTATIONAL. THEIR NEW ARGUMENT, THAT IF THEY ARE
STRONGLY CRITICIZED THEY WILL SIT HERE UNTIL FEBRUARY,
RESPONDING IN KIND BUT AGREEING TO NOTHING, IS MORE BELIEVABLE
THAN THE THREAT TO WALK OUT.

8. THIS IS A POTENTIALLY EFFECTIVE POSE WHICH COULD
OVER TIME WEAKEN RESOLUTION OF SOME OF OUR ALLIES, NOT
TO MENTION NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED, UNLESS WE EXERCISE FIRM,
PRUDENT LEADERSHIP. WE ARE, ACCORDINGLY, PLAYING AN
ACTIVE, LEADERSHIP ROLE IN NATO CAUCUSES, AND AMBASSADOR
GOLDBERG HAS TAKEN INITIATIVE TO MEET WITH NEUTRAL/NON-
ALIGNED CAUCUS AND OTHER DELS. ONE OF CONFERENCE'S EARLY
QUESTIONS AT LEAST IS RESOLVED. OTHER DELS HAVE FOLLOWED
OUR EXAMPLE IN REFERRING TO SOVIET UNION, CZECHOSLAVAKIA AND
OTHER EASTERN COUNTRIES BY NAME, AND EVEN POLISH
AMBASSADOR CONCEDED IN PLENARY OCTOBER 21 THAT PREVIOUS
CIRCUMLOCUTIONS MADE NO SENSE. MORE BASIC QUESTIONS
OF DEGREE OF SPECIFICITY AND HOW TO HANDLE NEW PROPOSALS
REMAIN. LATTER IS A QUESTION THAT THE NATO CAUCUS HAS POST-
PONED IN ITS PREOCCUPATION WITH DAILY TACTICS, BUT IT
WILL ASSUME INCREASING IMPORTANCE IN COMING WEEKS AS WE
ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER WHAT IS WITHIN OUR POWER TO ACCOMPLISH
AT THIS BELGRADE CONFERENCE. END COMMENT.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 07263 03 OF 03 241129Z

GOLDBERG

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING REPORTS, PROGRESS REPORTS, MILITARY PLANS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 24-Oct-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BELGRA07263
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770391-0057
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19771028/aaaaaxnw.tel
Line Count: 316
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 3aaa4028-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 BELGRADE 7038
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 811382
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BELGRADE CSCE--WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, OCTOBER 15-21
TAGS: MARR, YO, US, GE, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/3aaa4028-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009